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# MacDonald's Assault on India

## WEEK

### Whalen's Forgeries

The crude anti-Soviet forgeries of Mr. Whalen have proved a miserable dud—even in Washington. The New York Graphic exposed their origin by tracing the forgeries to a New York printing shop where the "Comintern" letterheads were turned out. Besides, anyone casually acquainted with the Communist movement could see at first glance that no Communist or Communist organization could possibly have concocted the letters. What stands out quite clearly is that Whalen must have been well aware of the falsity of the "documents" when he first made them public. For his pains he has been virtually laughed out of court by most of the prominent capitalist papers. But that does not mean the end of the matter. There are indications that the roots of the whole dirty business may be uncovered and "men higher up" involved. The Forgers International reaches from Riga and Sofia, through Berlin ,through MacDonald and Baldwin, to Whalen. Mathew Woll and Ralph Easly of the Civic Federation, and some "noted individuals" in Washington whose names may yet be known Nevertheless, Whalen's attempt to put a crimp into the growing U. S.-Soviet trade by an "exposure" of Amtorg has not got very far. American labor, suffering intensely from unemployment, will do well to demand credits to Russia that will enable it to place machinery orders here and alleviate joblessness.

### Tariff and Trade

The attempt of American captalism to issue out of its profound crisis is involving it in the sharpest conflict throughout the world. Hoover's soothing syrup is obviously accomplishing nothing. The ill-fated "engineering mind" no sooner says that all is going well than the Stock Market suffers its worst crash, Canada opens a bitter tariff war on the U. S. and a new decrease in New York jobs is immediately reported. The U. S. (which can build capitalism in one country just as little as Stalin can build socialism in one country) can alleviate its body-wracking crisis only by an assault upon the world market, which means primarily an assault upon European capitalism, headed by England. But the anarchy of capitalist production makes it enormously difficult to reorganize American industry for this attack. Bad signs for American industry multiply: steel and iron are stagnant. Foreign trade dropped almost a third of a billion dollars in January February-March. Canada is hitting back at the Grundy bill by establishing a British-favored tariff that will cut American trade with Canada by 25 percent; France and other countries are also preparing retaliations. America will meet world competition only by lowering costs of production, which means the severest attack on U. S. labor's standards, and the creation of the most profound international social convulsions and upheavals. The American crisis is not only lifting whole sections of the working class out of capitalist-minded swamps, but is blazing the trail for the proletarian revolutions in Europe.

### The Lynching Bee

The uniformed defenders of law and order in Sherman Texas stood by while the lynching mob burned to death George

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## The Labor Party's Message of Peace Comes from the Mouth of Machine Guns

The world of liberal and socalist reformism is deeply stirred with fear and chagrin. All its shabby principles and methods, its "prestige", its "future" are in danger of crashing on the rocks of the class struggle in India. The British Labor Party and its leader, Ramsay MacDonald, are again taking the great dispute between reform and revolution out of the realm of abstract discussion and testing the merits of the former in undisputable realities. And the test has resulted, as was inevitable, in a crushing indictment of MacDonaldism.

Eighteeen hundred British troops, the soldiers of His Majesty and His Majesty's loyal servants of the Labor Party, are patrolling the streets of Sholapur. The Indian population is being persuaded of the nobleness of MacDonald's "inevitability of gradualness" by the establishment of martial law. The message of all-hallowing pacifism is pouring out of Labor Party machine guns that point down all the thoroughfares. MacDonald is inserting the sweet spirit of Christ and Laborism into the hearts of the Indian masses at the point of the saber and bayonet.

From 200 to 500 Indians have been imprisoned in turbulent Bombay and vicinity so that they can reflect in their cells on the Labor Party's passionate desire to "free India". So can the 80 Indians that were arrested in Calcutta. So can the relatives of the Indians massacred at Peshawur when the British troops (with the slogans of MacDonald's pacifism inscribed on their regimental banners) retook the city from the insurgents. The pious Christain Laborites are on a Holy Crusade—to preserve the British Empire.

The international social democracy is worried. Its "prestige" is being hopelessly compromised. The French **Populaire** writes: "Political opinion in England—and in that country every government is obliged to reckon with it—is so attached to what it calls 'the integrity of the empire' that the cabinet which would infringe this integrity, in which India forms the keystone for the English, would be immediately swept away." Nevertheless, these professional slave traders add, "the Labor Party looks upon the Gandhi movement with sympathy". Certainly, for Gandhi who is strangling the movement he is involutarily arousing but not for the movement itself.

Norman Thomas, the spokesman for American "socialism" who is also a man of God and piety, expresses the worried "hope that the (Labor) Party will find some honorable (!) way out of the tragically difficult situation which it has inherited (?) in India." To be sure, Mr. Thomas, who has such ardent hopes of building a replica of the British Labor Party in the United States so that he may himself become a MacDonald, is more than a little embarrassed by the difficulties created for him in advance by his brother-in-Christ, MacDonald. Thomas is wiser than MacDonald only because he has not the chance to exercize power—and may Thomas' God help the Filipinos and Cubans if he ever gets the chance. There is no reason in the world to believe that Mr. Thomas will act any better in Havana or Manila than Zoergiebel in Berlin or MacDonald in Sholapur or Cairo.

#### Puzzled and Powerless!

Thomas is not the only apologetic and embarrassed socialist. His colleague, James Oneal cables the Labor Party: "American workers puzzled regarding Labor Party's attitude toward India." The evangel of timid "progressivism" Muste, declares that MacDonald has done things "which leave his friends powerless to say a word in his defense". We know of no better characterization of these two men than the ones they themselves employ: Oneal is puzzled about how to defend the scoundrelly record of is fellows in India (he is puzzled in general, by any important question), and Muste is as powerless to defend it as he is careful not to attack it.

But what Muste is careful not to do, Lovestone does. He is, as he will explain, an enemy of British imperialism and Laborism. So that on May 10, he called a mass meeting at Columbus Circle to "DEMAND FREEDOM FOR GANDHI"!! Lovestone is bitter at MacDonald too. He wants to "restore" Gandhi to the Indian masses! Lovestone is the most violent opponent of the "permanent revolution" in India. He does not want to "skip any stages of development". Gandhi has not yet had the opportunity to massacre the Indian masses like Chiang Kai-Shek did in China. The "only" thing he has done so far is to betray them in his own way, hand the militants over to the British jailors by disowning their "violence". Consistent Lovestone! For the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek in the Chinese revolution in 1925-27 and for the defense of the strangler of the Indian revolution, for "the freedom of Gandhi", in 1930!

As for the Daily Worker, and the rest of the Stalinist press, it is as puzzled as Oneal and as speechless as Muste—from another point of view. It has an unusual opportunity to draw pointed lessons from the Indian revolts and the attitude of Laborite reformism. But it is strangely silent. Its Indian news is buried somewhere on an insignificant page. It fears to speak of a genuine revolutionary movement in India because there is no Communist Party there. AND THERE IS NO COMMUNIST PARTY BECAUSE STALIN HAS BEEN TOO BUSY PLAYING WITH INDIAN NATIONALISM AND PETTY BOURGEOIS "WORKERS AND PEASANT PARTIES" TO BUILD THE COMMUNIST MOVEMTNT The Indian masses are paying heavily for the crimes of Stalinism.

—MAX SHACHTMAN

## The «Red» Guerilla War in China

NOTE: This article by one of the leaders of the Chinese Opposition was received after our last issue was off the press. It gives a first hand picture and Marxist analysis of the guerilla warfare now going on in Southern China and serves as a thorough reply to the falsehoods and anti-Marxist nonsense which the official Party press (particularly its Chinese "expert" Doonping) publishes on events in China. Our next issue will contain another letter from comrade Niel-Sih.—Ed.)

SHANGHAI—

To have an idea of the real importance of the official Communist Party, it should be noted that according to the official figures the membership in Shanghai does not exceed one thousand. The organization has no active life; all is concentrated in the hands of the apparatus. The situation is still worse in the provinces.

The recent congress of the Party at Dazhan-Sus proclaimed that the revolutionary situation was "ripe" and appealed for the general strike and the armed uprising in the cities, and for the development of the guerilla war in the country.

Certain strikes imposed from above were terminated either with a lockout by the bourgeoisie or with bloodshed; in the best case, by the economic defeat of the workers. A spirit of passivity prevails within the textile industry which is the principal industry in Shanghai. The bourgeoisie conducts a systematic offensive against the workers, replacing men in textiles by women and children.

Two or three Communist workers can sometimes be found in the most important industrial enterprises. For a long time nobody took the trouble to keep in contact with them. But the First of August saw the beginning of a period of artificial explosions: the Party organized demonstrations, one after the other. Outside of the kernel proper of the membership, the demonstration only attracted some chance passers-by. For the most part they proceeded as follows:

In a busy street, with many passers-by, small merchants, buyers and idlers, a bunch of Communists arrive and begin to shout: "Down with the Kuo Min Tang! Long live the Communist International!" and distribute leaflets. But this method gives no serious results: the leaflets fall on the sidewalk and street and are swept up with the dirt by the municipal street cleaners. A dozen demonstrators are led to the station house. Next day, the Party organ proclaims that the demonstration was magnificent, with thousands of participants, when only about one or two hundred Party members could be seen. Such demonstrations were frequently launched for the most futile motives.

On the other hand, Communists are sent to the Left Kuo Min Tang generals in order to help them in the constitution of new troops. It is even said that the Communists sent a delegate to the conference for a bloc against Chiang Kai Shek. This conference was recently held in Hong Kong. It goes without saying that while it maintains its collaboration with the Left Kuo Min Tang, the official Party and its organ, **The Red Flag**, conducts a rabid campaign against the Left Opposition.

The situation is still worse among the provincial Party forces. No campaign has been conducted against the Kuo Min Tang for a long time, on the belief that was a finished phase and that after their disillusionment with the Kuo Min Tang the workers would rejoin the Communist ranks of their own accord.

In reality they did nothing of the kind. The Left Kuo Min Tang showed considerable flexibility, even taking the lead in nu-

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# Co-operatives Confer at Superior

The annual board meeting in Superior, Wisconsin, of the Cooperative Central Exchange has just registered a severe defeat for the official Communist Party and at the same time put squarely the problems of the immediate future of the Finnish revolutionary movement in the United States.

We have previously described the features of the crisis in the Northwest cooperatives, which are in many respects a pivot of the Finnish labor movement in the country. For virtually ten years, this powerful movement has been dominated by the Communists. For at least half that time conflicts of greater or lesser severity have gone on constantly between the leaders of the Finnish Communist (and cooperative) movement and the Communist Party to some extent because of the important role played by the Finnish Party members in the various Party factional fights, but essentially because of the increasing weight of conservatism, sluggishness and opportunism developing in the Finnish movement and restraining its revolutionary progress. Nevertheless, the Party managed to retain its influence and hold on to the movement for quite a time.

**Conflict Comes to a Head**

The conflict came to a sharp point only in recent times. The victory of the Lovestone faction in the Party resulted in the violent imposition upon the large Finnish movement of discredited and incompetent hacks (Puro, Heikkinen, Suvanto and Co.) Then the impure chemical concoction recently foisted upon the Party as its Stalinist leadership (Browder, Bedacht, Foster, Minor, Amter, etc.) together with their irresponsible ultra-Leftist course, brought the mess to the boiling point. In a sudden, Leftist outburst, disfigured by adventurism and criminal unconcern about results, the Stalinist crew created such a state of affairs in the Finnish movement that they not only alienated the great bulk of the Finnish workers in the Northwest but enabled a group of opportunists (and Halonen in particular) to win these workers to their side against the Party. What is worse ,the Stalinist freebooters succeeded in lining up on Halonen's side some of the best elements in the Finnish revolutionary movement—a fact of considerable significance for the future.

The struggle centered around the annual meeting of the Cooperative Exchange Board, with both sides mobilizing all forces. When the delegates assembled, the Party at best had 20% of the delegates, with the opposing forces holding the rest. The majority was not even swayed (such is the loss of C. I. prestige!) by the cable from the Cooperative Section of the Comintern, whose slogan was: "Wrest the leadership of your Central Exchange from the hands of Halonen and place it in the hands of a reliable fighter for a proletarian class policy." "Reliable fighter" is apparently the pseudonym of Matti Tenhunen leader of the Party forces at the meeting, and as unreliable an opporunist as ever led the Finnish movement.

**The "Reliable Fighters"**

It is characteristic of the "reliable fighters" who were entrusted with fighting for the Bolshevik line that they were quite careful to do nó such thing. Corgan spoke on policies only once, and that in connection with a motion to remove him. Tenhunen fought with the greatest violence on technical questions but he assiduously avoided the "Left wing program" as though it were poison ivy. Vainionpaa took the floor only once to make a defense not of the Party line, but...his ability as a functionary who has been trustworthy and efficient. Corgan, Tenhunen and Vainionpaa are waiting—waiting to see how the line-up will look when things settle a bit.

For all of that, the Halonen forces were a thousand times wrong, and set an even worse precedent, by removing the three named above from the Board, although it was found possible to elect one I. W. W. and one socialist to it. That is the method used by the Stalinists, in reverse English, and indicates a profound weakness and fear in the Halonen group.

The meeting of the Board ,with more than 250 representative delegates attending, was unmistakably a bitter defeat for the Party which a competent leadership and correct policy might have avoided. The manner in which the Party conducted it' side of the fight was literally blockheaded. The Finnish Party press was simply filled with outrageous lies, misrepresentations, personal slander, scandals and the like, probably under the impression that this was the way to win workers from the other side. It accomplished just the opposite —as was easily predictable—particularly since the Party had only a weak leg to stand on to begin with and had compromised itself in the eyes of the workers by absolutely indefensible gangster methods against Halonen's group. It succeeded in pushing genuinely revolutionary elements over to Halonen; it is "making up" for this blunder by calling them all "a pack of social-fascists". All the worse for Stalinist confusionism.

**What Next?**

But the fact that these fine workers are temporarily with Halonen and the group of officials around him—people primarily interested is substantial labor cooperatives, not in the revolutionary class struggle and its basic principle—is of the highest importance. Some of these officials had a very platonic and fleeting interest at one moment for the Left Opposition, as a sort of cover for their essentially Right wing fight. That's gone, of course. And just as water finds its level in the end, so a section of these functionaries is already leaning towards Lovestone, who conducts a very democratic group, open to all stages and varieties of opportunism.

It is the younger elements, however and the workers, who have a decisive word to say. Many of them have waited before speaking on the fundamental principle questions, on the basic disputes in the revolutionary movement (of which the cooperative situation is only a reflection) until " the crisis is over". The organizational victory over the Stalinists confronts them more than ever with the necessity of defining their perspective in clear words and firm deeds. Not even the cooperative movement, not even Halonen, can remain "neutral". The differentiation that must take place in the ranks of the confused, and so to speak, "all-embracing" Halonen group is of greatest consequence A position must now be taken on the political questions of the hour. Right wingers will inevitably go with the organized Right wing. What is urgently needed is an organized, outspoken group of revolutionists, a Marxist core in the Northwest movement that knows how to fight and what to fight for. That is the guarantee for the movement's future. —M. S.

**Stalinist Adventurism**

# «Red» Guerilla War in China

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merous strike movements. In short, after the defeats of the demonstrations organized on the initiative of the C. P., many workers can be seen abandoning the Party and going over to the Left Kuo Min Tang and joining the yellow trade unions. This is what happened especially among the miners of Tang-Chan, near Tien-Tsin.

In the provinces, the strikes, acts of sabotage and other conflicts were often provoked in an entirely artificial manner in order to justify the schema of a revolutionary recrudescence. This sort of demonstration succeeded in embracing only a restricted part of the workers' forces and contributed more to weakening than strengthening the movement

**Rich Peasant Elements in Party**

The very small proportion of proletarian elements within the Party frequently leads to the decay of the movement in the villages. Also, the rich peasants often join the Party. Easily solidarizing with the struggle against taxes, the assessments on domainal land leases and other state impositions.

Conversely, these same rich peasants show themselves basically hostile to the directives of the Party on the leases between individuals and usurious loans. In those regions, the poor peasants break away from the revolution, become discouraged and go to sleep at meetings. The movement has no hold on the class of poor peasants because it does not constitute a struggle against the rich peasants.

In the villages of the Tung-Cheiu and Kwang-Si provinces, the Party organizations are peopled with lumpen-proletarian elements or bandits whose armed detachments often cover themselves with the name of Red Army. Further, in the same province of Tung-Cheiu the rich proprietors call themselves Communists in order to seek an alliance with these armed groups. Such proprietors often pay the "Red" chiefs so as to be authorized, under their protection, to levy rental rates on the poor peasant. When the peasants ask why these Communists levy rents, they are told that it is for various needs, including the provisionment of troops. Such troops of so-called Communists do not limit themselves to levying contributions on the rich, but also on the poor, and in general carry on numerous exactions and violence, arousing the hatred of the peasants and compromising the names of Communism and the Red Army.

Everything shows that with such a weak development of the revolutionary spirit in the villages and such an oppression of the proletariat, the guerilla war in the country can lead to nothing but pure banditry. In any event, that is the situation in the province of Kiang Su.

Frequently, also, troops of partisans proceed to the temporary occupation of small localities only in order to give their chiefs the opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the population and the State treasury. This it what is happening especially in the Hupei province.

**Tchu-Deh's Forces**

The detachment of the Communist Tchu-Deh, composed of the remnants of Ye-Tin's forces, has been reinforced by new groups of rebels. Pursued by the regular forces, this detachment goes from Right to Left, utilizing the lack of any contact between the governmental forces of the four provinces of Hunan, Kiang-Si, Kwantung and Fukien This detachment, or at least its nucleus already exists since 1927. It wages war without cessation. It escapes all pursuit, taking refuge in the mountainous parts of the four provinces mentioned above. Tchu-Deh's detachment distinguishes itself advantageously from the groups of bandits in that it really pursues a revolutionary aim. As soon as it invades a new region, it proceeds to share the land among the peasants, proclaims the annulment of debts, constitutes village Soviets, furnishes the poor peasants with provisions as far as it is possible, so that as soon as the government troops arrive the detachment leaves nothing but regrets among the peasants.

Personally, Tchu-Deh is a former Chinese student in Germany, a Communist, formerly a divisional general under the Wang Chin Wei government. The operations of this detachment, however, produce only a weak impression here because in the present general circumstances, they lack perspective. What the Moscow **Pravda** says, cited by the Left Opposition press, is manifestly exaggerated is order the better to serve the needs of the "Third Period".

Our group has just issued its first appeal for the establishment of a Left Communist League. The work is only beginning.

January 25, 1930. —NIEL-SIH

# Plan Two Toronto Dress Strikes

Two unions in Toronto have issued the call for a "general strike of the dressmakers". The corrupt International, led by the bureaucracy of the socialist party, and the Industrial Union under the leadership of the Communist Party are both preparing to bring out the workers.

**Trade Conditions Rotten**

The conditions in the cloak industry are very bad but those in the dress industry, where the overwhelming majority of the workers are young girls, married and unmarried women, they are even worse. As in the cloak trade, the conditions continue to grow worse from year to year and this is reflected in the seasonal migration of workers from shop to shop, hoping in vain that maybe the next place will be a little better.

Preceding the organization of the Industrial Union two years ago, no attempt was ever made by the International to organize the trade. The answer the militants always received to their request for the International to organize a local was a typical expression of the successful self-satisfaction of all bureaucrats: "Too many 'shickses' (gentiles)," who were supposed to be impossible to organize.

When the Industrial Union was first organized, over 300 young dressmakers flocked to join the local, a striking answer to the lie of the International about the impossibility to organize them. Unfortunately, the golden opportunity was allowed to slip by, mainly because of the failure of the Left wing, dominated by the Party, to give the young leadership of the local the necessary lead and advice. The local afterwards went completely out of existence, to be reorganized later. Today it numbers about 75.

The International's dressmakers' local was organized following the success of the International in tying the cloakmakers to a typical Right wing agreement in the semi-company union. The loud bally-hoo that the bureaucracy raised during and after the strike succeeded for a while in pulling the wool over the eyes of the great majority of the cloakmakers and the mass of the dress makers, who believed that a great victory had been won.

The soap bubble, however, has burst on the rock of reality. The conditions of the cloakmakers are as sad as they were before the strike and even worse. Dissatisfaction in the shops is universal. The cloakmakers are chained to an agreement that binds them hand and foot, and on top of that they have to pay the self-satisfied bureaucracy $5.00 in taxes

**Why Left Wing Fails**

The failure of the Indutrial Union to make further headway is due mostly to lack of strategical approach and orientation to the dress makers, as well as to the loss of prestige they sustained from their previous mistakes. With a correct approach to the workers they should be able to win back the majority of their lost membership, who are now passive on-lookers. The extent to which the Right wing bureaucracy has compromised itself with the bosses should have definitely killed their chances of leading the dressmakers had the Industrial Union acted correctly.

The basis on which the bureaucracy stands is the I. L. G. W., against whom the Party has completely abandoned the fight. Not only do they absolutely refuse to organize a Left wing fraction in the I.L.G.W. —for which there are very good opportunities—but the Party members who were forced to join the International to hang on to their bread and butter were expelled from the Party and branded as traitors. The future of the Industrial Union lies in the hands of the clear-headed militants. They must know how to choose properly between deceptive phrase-mongering about winning the masses and realistic, fruitful work in every field of the class struggle. Thus far the Party bureaucrats have made the wrong choice. -YOUNG DRESSMAKER

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### Johnstone's 'Self-Criticism'

# Crisis in the Needle Trades

The essence of Stalinist "self-criticism" can be summed up in one sentence: The central leadership is infallible and must not be criticized under any circumstances but as blame must be fixed for the constant blunders and debacles, let it be loaded upon the shoulders of the rank and file or the second, third or fourth layers of functionaries who only carried out the ruinous policies imposed upon them. The bureaucratic idea dominates every line of the sensational article (Daily Worker, 5-7-1930) by Jack Johnstone (endorsed by the Political Committee of the Party) which has caused a furore in the ranks of the Left wing needle trades workers. By what could only be ironical humor, the article is titled "Building the Needle Workers Union"!

The article is sensational, and was obviously intended to create a sensation. After many long months of unstinted praise for the Left wing Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, of bluff about the progress and the strength it was enjoying, and of the revolutionary class leadership it was giving to the needle workers, Johnstone establishes the followng astounding facts:

**A Scandalous Record**

The whole past period in the union has been one of defeats. Virtually the whole union has become corrupted and has betrayed the workers. The leadership is permeated with class collaboration ideas indistinguishable from Sigman's. It has worked hand in hand with the bosses and has even organized one group of them into an association in order to arrange contractual relations with it. It has used Tammany Hall police during strikes, bought immunity from the bourgeois state by employing Tammany Hall lawyers and refraining from criticizing the city administration, and has deliberately covered up the treachery of Ryan Tammany Hall president of the local A.F. of L. council, in order to gain his support. It "was being hooked up with Mr. Broderick", head of the infamous Industrial Police Squad, the professional skull-crackers of the workers. It sold out to Sidney Hillman by pledging its tacit support to him in exchange for support against Sigman and Co. It even made deals behind the scenes with the blackest I. L. G. W. bureaucrats (Ninfo, etc.) and helped Schlesinger to oust Sigman It accepted the worst kind of "impartial chairman" settlements in strikes it led. Collaboration with the police flourished among the leadership of the Left wing and of the new union and "produced such jewels as Shapiro whose itching hand and stool-pigeon (!) proclivities were allowed to flourish...The real inner union politics consisted of a maze of 'clever' intrigues, manoeuvers with socalled progressives, Shelly Sorkin, sections of the bureaucracy, the police, the bosses and the underworld, but never laying a base among the workers."

The whole hair-raising paragraph written above is taken practically word for word, from Johnstone's article. He is not referring here to any "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists", who are "agents of the bourgeoisie and its police" but to the leaders of the only Left wing union that has had any semblance of mass influence. Worst of all, every important charge that Johnstone makes is true. There remains, however, the job of looking into the reasons for Johnstone's article at this time and the ADDITIONAL facts and charges which he and the Political Bureau of the Party which endorsed his article omitted to mention.

The Left wing union in the needle trades is in a severely critical state. From ideological and organizational control of the decisive sections of the workers in the industry it has steadily sunk in the last two-three years to a position of impotence and passivity. The Right wing, effectvelp crushed at one time, has succeeded in reestablishing its stifling control of the organized workers. The Left wing has neither a perspective of its future, nor an effective program of action to extricate itself out of its present stagnation and decline.

**Lovestoneites Mainly Responsible**

It is quite beyond doubt that the main burden of responsibility for this state of affairs rests upon the shoulders of the Lovestone faction whose representatives and policy have dominated the course of the union in the past period. The rankest opportunism and all the elements of degenerating corruption were consciously nurtured by this group, from Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe, down to Zimmerman Wortis and Gold.

But with the removal from control of the Lovestone group and the imposition of the "new leadership" the situation has not improved, but if anything, been made worse There is no reason to doubt that Johnstone's article was dictated by essentially factional motives—to discredit the easily discreditable Lovestone leadership, to lay it on thickly in order to cover up Johnstone's own share (and that of his fellow "leaders") of the criminal responsibility. For example:

Johnstone constantly fentions Gitlow, Zimmerman and Gross as the culprits. Why does he fail to write that Gold, Potash and Burochovich are at least equally guilty? Purely and simply because the latter trio have "accepted the new line" and thereby automaticaly guaranteed themselves from criticism for their past misdeeds. Were they any less involved in the dealings with Tammany Hall, with Broderick with the police, with the I. L. G. W. fakers with the shrewd Hillman machine than Zimmerman and Co? Not a whit less!

Is Johnstone animated by the interests of the Left wing and working class, or merely by the desire to take a factional crack at Lovestone when he conveniently forgets that Gold proclaimed Shapiro's "innocence" only up to a couple of months ago? or that it is precisely the now white washed Gold who had the financial dealings with Hillman by which the Left wing's "neutrality" in the A. C. W. fight was purchased? or that Gold and Burochovitch are far from being strangers to the police? or that Wortis has always been the "ideological" inspirer of opportunism in the needle trades?

Or perhaps Johnstone will tell us why he "forgot" in his cataloging of opportunist crimes, to mention that both he and Browder advocated a policy for the I. L. G. W. Philadelphia convention which would have allied the Left wing with a temporarily disgruntled gang of the bureaucracy in order to "divide the power" in the union? The record of this shameful proposal and our fight against it is in the minutes of the Political Committee for that period. As on a previous occasion, we again demand: Publish that record! Where was this vulgarly opportunist policy, which we fought so sharply in the Party, any better than the maneuvers of Gitlow-Zimmerman with Sigman and Ninfo? Or perhaps Johnstone will find for us a record of his protests in the past against the corruption rampant in the Left wing?

**Johnstone Then and Now**

Johnstone speaks indignantly about the "Zimmerman-Lovestone" policy of the Left wing during the cloak and dress makers strikes of the Right wing last year. Has Johnstone so quickly forgotten that the policy was HIS and Foster's and that of the rest of the "new leadership"? When he now criticizes the "negative" slogan of "Don't Join the Fake Strike!" why does he not add that this was the official Party policy for criticism of which the Militant was denounced as counter-revolutionary, just as was done when we demanded the application of the united front tactic? Why was it counter-revolutonary to criticize Johnstone and Foster IN TIME for the same stupidities which Johnstone A YEAR LATER accuses the scapegoats of having committed?

The answer is not hard to find: "Self-criticism" under Johnstone and Co. is the mean and cowardly device by which scapegoats and whipping boys are made to take the blame for disastrous results of policies that the Johnstones themselves impose. Stalinist "self-criticism" means the gag for the workers and the shield for the bureaucrats In this case, it happens that Johnstone is really able to make out an excellent case against the Lovestoneites, but he will not be able to conceal the principal culprits: the new Party leadership. No, not even though tomorrow, when things continue to grow worse, Johnstone tries to pick new scapegoats out of the ranks of the still anointed leaders. Let Burochovich and Wortis look to their posts ! Uneasy rests the head that wears a crown—even the paper crown of a Stalinist functionary. Is it not already known that Browder, Johnstone, and Co. are feverishly organizing a new faction struggle to "clean out the old Lovestonites"? The demand that Wortis, Gold, etc. "acknowledge their errors while associated with Gitlow, Zimmerman and Co." is advance thunder of this struggle.

The reader will ask: What does Johnstone propose now? The cold truth is that he proposes nothing because he has nothing to say. His principal aim is achieved when he succeeds in crushing his Party faction opponent. He writes a few vague, noncommital words about 'the closest application ofthe R. I. L. U. class struggle policy laid down by the 4th World Congress and the 6th Plenum of the R. I. L. U. for this period of imperialist wars, mass class struggles and proletarian revolution."

That costs nothing and means nothing, because Stalinist resolutions are raw cloth out of which any policy you want (except the correct one) can be manufactured at a moment's notice. But there is a significant silence about the immediate perspectives of the Left wing union, about the program of action it should pursue, about the attitude it must have towards the masses of workers now dragooned into the I. L. G. W. U., and about the dozen other concrete decisive problems in which the Stalinists have so thoroughly demonstrated their bankrupty and blunderings. What Johnstone fails to say, what he fails to propose as a means of issuing forth from the crisis that is wrecking the Left wing in the needle trades, will therefore have to be said by others. Space requirements compel us to postpone that for the next occasion.

* * *

**The Militant invites Left wing needle trades workers to write for its columns on the situation in the union and to give their views on the problems of their movement. Articles written in any language will be translated into English and printed. The Daily Worker is the closed organ of the cynical bureaucrats—the Militant aims to become the voice of the militant rank and file.**

# Prelude to a President's Swan-Song

The United States has recently produced two distinct types of presidents: Coolidge, a mediocre politician, an upright marionette who screens his masters' corruption, one who knows little and does less —in other words a mere figurehead. During a period of "plenty and prosperity" such men even become little heroes. Simpletons ascribe the good times to their expert leadership. The other is the Hoover type, the engineer of high finance, one who can take leadership in capitalist aggression. During hard times, it is this type that capitalism needs.

Louis Hyman, president of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, is rather the Coolidge than the Hoover type of president. While he rode the prosperity wave of Left wing influence among the needle trades workers, he even became a little hero. Some simple-minded people thought he had something to do with the wave. But when matters took on a different shape, when an aggressive policy, hard fighting and clarity of purpose were required, president Hyman became impotent, useless, and in some respects even an obstacle. Whole weeks passed with the president's chair vacant. It is during this period that he was given a trip to Moscow. There he spent several worth while months—worth while insofar as the president's absence from activities and the office could at least be easily explained.

But there is one thing that must be mentioned to Coolidges credit: because he has nothing to say he is silent. President Hyman, however, frequently speaks out of turn. One of these occasions was at the Left wing needle trades mass meeting at Cooper Union on May 9th, where a campaign " for 6,000 new members" was supposed to be started. I suppose the Militant will deal with other interesting aspects of this meeting; I have in mind the unsigned article of "self"-criticism by Johnstone.

In his speech, Hyman said among other things: "When Trotsky was asked why it was that he lost the power, it did not take him long to think up an answer. 'When the revolution was at high tide it needed great leaders, but when it was at ebb such nobodies as Stalin got into power.' As a matter of fact, if Trotsky's policies had been carried out Russia would be ruined today."

President Hyman who, because of his own faultless policies, wields such enormous power over the mass, revolutionary industrial union of Left wing needle trades workers, cannot see why anyone should "lose the power" except as a result of bad policies...But that is something else again. Suffice it to ask: Does Hyman know what the Opposition demanded and still demands? Did he read it from their documents or out of the fabricated handbooks containing ideas maliciously ascribed to the Opposition by Stalin, handbooks given gratis to all official visitors to the Soviet Union? These questions are not difficult to answer.

**Where Hyman Has Fallen Down**

There is, however, another side to the matter, and that is the tactlessness with which Hyman spoke about "losing" power. We needle trades workers have known for a long time the unfortunate role to which Hyman's lack of genuine independence has condemned him. Hyman is essentially a screen—an honest, an unwilling screen but nevertheless a screen. He has used his prestige as a militant, his standing as a "non-partisan" to cover up the chicanery, first of Zimmerman, Gross, Gold, Wortis and Co. when they were in power, and now of Gold, Potash and Co. alone He has not had very much heart for this sort of job—that is true. He has frequently excused it to himself and his closest friends by pleading: "What else can you do? It's in the interests of the union." He has not even done this work very actively or energetically—and that accounts for his long passivity in union affairs. Nevertheless, the accomplishment, however feeble, of this task has enabled him to retain his formal "power" in the union, at least until now.

Alas, his recent needless assault upon Trotsky, even though it earned him the praise of Gold and the other Potashes, is only the operatic prelude to his own swan song. It is an open secret in the needle trades market that Hyman is among those slated to go. Coolidge was at least followed by Hoover, but Hyman cannot even have that poor consolation. He is to be replaced (isn't the decision already made at 125th Street?) by that giant intellect and darling of the needle traeds masses, H. Sazer. In cold truth, Sazer is already loitering around the corridors and offices of the union, an ominous shadow to Hyman, preparing for his historic task of leadership by an apprenticeship of licking postage stamps and folding envelopes.

So we see that comrade Presilent Hyman is precisely the man to talk about "lost power". He ought to know. —B. T.

Φ

**FROM BAD TO WORSE**

The C. E. C. of the Party has replaced Roy Stephens as district organizer in Boston with Nat Kaplan. Stephens, after having ruined the Kansas City district, was promoted—not for ability but for fidelity—to Boston. The results are too well known. Kaplan, after having done his level best to ruin the New Jersey sub-district last year, is now also promoted to Boston, again, not for ability but for servility. We know that it would require a plenum of the Party C. E. C., with an open letter from the Comintern, to decide officially which of the two organizers is worse. But the Party members in Boston cannot be permitted to suffer so long without aid. Until the plenum is held, we are willing to open a fund drive for the Persecuted and Intensely Suffering Party members in Boston.

# Internationalism and the Theory of «Exceptionalism»

## By L. D. TROTSKY

### PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION OF "THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION"

(Continued from Last Issue)

Only recently, March 8 1930, **Pravda** expounded Stalin's unfortunate theory anew, in the sense that "socialism, as a social-economic formation", that is, as a definite order of productive relations, can be fully realized "on the national scale of the U.S.S.R." Quite another matter is "the **complete victory of socialism** in the sense of guaranteeing it from intervention of capitalist encirclement"—such a complete victory of socialism "actually demands the triumph of the proletarian revolution in several advanced countries". What abysmal decay of theoretical thought was needed for such sorry scholasticism to be expounded in a learned form on the pages of the central organ of Lenin's party! If we should assume for a minute the possibilitiy of realizing socialism as a finished social system in the isolated frame of the U.S.S.R., then that would be the "complete victory"—what intervention could be talked of then? The socialist order presupposes high technique, high culture and high solidarity of the population. Since the U. S. S. R. at the moment of complete construction of socialism will have, it must be assumed, not less than 200, or perhaps even 250 million in population, then we ask: what intervention could be talked of then? What capitalist country, or coalition of countries would dare think of intervention under these circumstances? The only conceivable intervention could be on the part of the U.S.S.R. But would it be needed? It is doubtful. The example of a backward country which in the course of several "five year plans" constructed a mighty socialist society with independent forces would mean a death blow to world capitalism, and would reduce to a minimum, if not to zero, the costs of the world proletarian revolution. This is why the whole Stalinist conception leads in essence to the liquidation of the Communist International. And really, what could its historic significance be, if the fate of socialism is to be decided in the last resort ...by the Gosplan (State Planning Commision) of the U. S. S. R? In such a case the Comintern has as its task along with the illustrious "Friends of the Soviet Union", to guard the construction of socialism from interventions, that is, in essence, it is reduced to the role of a frontier guard.

The already mentioned* recent article attempts to prove the correctness of the Stalinist conception with the newest and freshest economic arguments: "...precisely now," the **Pravda** says, "when the socialist type of productive relations, besides industry, begins to take deeper root in agriculture through the growing Sokhoz (Soviet farms), through the gigantic growth in quantity and quality of the Kolkoz (collective farm) movement and the liquidation of the Kulak as a class based on complete collectivization, it shows more clearly the sorry bankruptcy of Trotsky-Zinoviev defeatism, which has meant in essence 'the Menshevist denial of the legitimacy of the October revolution' (Stalin)" (**Pravda**, March 8, 1930).

These lines are really remarkable, and not merely for their glib tone which covers a complete confusion of thought. Together with Stalin the author of the **Pravda** article condemns the "Trotskyist" conception "for denying the legitimacy of the October Revolution.". But it was exactly on the basis of this conception, that is the theory of the permanent revolution, that the writer of these lines **foretold the inevitability** of the October Revolution, 13 years before it occurred. But Stalin? Already after the February Revolution, that is seven and eight months prior to the October overturn, he came forward as a vulgar revolutionary democrat. It was necessary that Lenin should arrive in Petrograd (April 3, 1917), with his merciless struggle and ridicule of the self-conceited "Old Bolsheviks", for Stalin carefully and noiselessly to climb over from his democratic to a socialist position. This inner "regrowth" of Stalin, which by the way has never been completed, took place, at any rate, not earlier than 12 years after we gave the basis for the "legitimacy" of the seizure of power by the working class of Russia before the beginning of the proletarian revolution in the West.

* See the Militant, May 10, 1930.

**National Revolution and World Economics**

But working out the theoretical prognosis of the October Revolution, we did not at all expect that, winning state power, the Russian proletariat would exclude the former empire of the czars from the world economic sphere. We Marxists know the role and significance of state power. It is not at all a passive reflection of economic processes, as the social-democratic servants of the bourgeois state fatalistically describe it. Power can have a gigantic significance, reactionary, as well as progressive, depending upon which class holds it in its hands. But the state power is nevertheless a weapon of superstructural order. The passing of power from the hands of czarism and the bourgeoisie into the hands of the proletariat, does not remove the processes, nor the laws of world economy. It is true that for a certain time after the October overturn the economic ties of the Soviet Union with the world market weakened. But it would be a monstrous mistake to generalize a phenomenon which was merely a short stage of the dialectical process. The world division of labor and the supra-national character of modern productive forces, not only retain, but will increase twofold and tenfold their significance for the Soviet Union, depending on the degree of its economic rise.

Each backward country adapting itself to capitalism, has gone through diverse stages of decreasing or increasing dependence on the other capitalist countries, but in general the tendency of capitalist development leads towards a collosal growth of world ties, which expresses itself in the growth of foreign trade, including, of course, trade with their capital as well. The dependence of England upon India has, of course, a qualitatively different character than the dependence of India upon England. But this difference is basically determined by the difference in the level of development of their productive forces, and not at all by the degree of their economic self-sufficiency. India is a colony, England a —metropolis. But if today England should be subjected to an economic blockade, it would perish sooner than India. This is one of the convincing illustrations of the reality of world economy.

Capitalist development—not in the abstract formulae of the second volume of "Capital" which retain all their significance **as a stage in analysis,** but in historic reality—capitalist development took place and could only take place, by means of systematically widening its base. Consequently, in the process of its development, in the struggle with its internal contradictions, each national capitalism turns in a growing degree to the reserves of the "external market", that is, of world economy. The inevitable expansion growing out of the permanent internal crisis of capitalism, is its progressive force until it becomes fatal to it.

The October Revolution inherited from old Russia, besides the internal contradictions of capitalism, no less deep contradictions between capitalism as a whole and the pre-capitalist forms of production. These contradictions had and still have a material character, that is, they are hidden in the material relations between the city and the village in definite proportions or disproportions of various branches of industry and the economy of the people in general, etc. Some of these contradictions are rooted directly in the geographic and demographic conditions of the country, that is, they breed on the surplus, or the lack of one or another natural resources, and the historically created distribution of the masses of the people, etc. The strength of Soviet economy is in the nationalization of the means of production, and their planned direction. The weakness of Soviet economy, besides the weaknesses inherited from the past—is in its present post-October isolation, that is, in its inability to utilize the resources of world economy not only on a socialist, but even on a capitalist basis—in the form of normal international credits, and generally "financing", which plays such a determining role for backward countries. In the meantime the contradictions of the capitalist and pre-capitalist past not only do not disappear of themselves, but, on the contrary, rise out of the accumulations of the years of decline and destruction, revive and sharpen together with the growth of Soviet economy, and for their removal, or even softening they demand at every step the bringing into circulation of the resources of the world market.

**The Growth of Contradictions**

To understand what is now happening in the gigantic territory which the October overturn aroused to new life, we must always picture to ourselves clearly that to the old contradictions which were recently revived by the economic successes, was added a new one, the mightiest contradiction: between the concentrated character of Soviet industry, which opens the possibility of hitherto unheard of tempos of development, and isolated Soviet economy, which excludes the possibility of a normal utilization of the reserves of world economy. The new contradiction added to the old ones, lends to the fact, that alongside of the exceptional successes, painful difficulties grow up. The latter find their most immediate and painful expression, felt daily by every worker and peasant, in the fact that the conditions of the toiling masses not only do not rise in relation to the rise of economy, but even worsen now as a result of the growing food difficulties. The sharp crises of Soviet economy are a reminder that the productive forces created by capitalism, are not adapted to a national framework and can be socialistically coordinated and harmonized only on an international scale. In other words, the crises of Soviet economy are not merely sicknesses of growth, a sort of illness of childhood but something immeasurably more significant, precisely the rigorous pull of the world market, that same one, "to which," according to Lenin's words, "we are subordinated to which we are tied, from which we cannot break away" (at the XI congress of the Party, March 27, 1922).

From this, however, the denial of the historical "legitimacy" of the October Revolution does not at all follow, a conclusion which smells of shameful philistinism. The seizure of power by the proletariat cannot be a simultaneous act. The political superstructure—and a revolution is related to "superstructure—has it own dialectic, which breaks powerfully into the world economic process, but does not remove its deeper laws. The October Revolution is "legitimate" as **the first stage in the world revolution,** which inevitably drags out for decades. The interval between the first stage and the second turned out to be considerably longer than we expected. But it nevertheless remains an interval, and does not at all turn into a self-sufficient epoch of constructing a national socialist society.

Out of the two conceptions of the revolution have grown two leading lines on economic questions. The first rapid sucesses, which were completely unexpected by him inspired Stalin in the Fall of 1924 with the theory of socialism in one country as the crowning of a practical perspective for an isolated national economy. In the same period, Bucharin gave his famous formula that by fencing ourselves off from the world economy by a foreign trade monopoly, we can construct socialism "even at a snail's pace". This was the common formula of the Centrist-Right bloc. Stalin was then tirelessly expounding the idea that the tempo of our industrialization is our "internal business", having no relation to the world economy. Such a sort of national self-contentment, however, could not last long, for it was reflecting the first, very brief stage of economic revival, which inevitably revived our dependence on the world market. The first shocks of intra-state dependence, unexpected by the national socialists, created an alarm, which in the next stage turned into a panic. To gain economic "independence" speedily with the aid of the fastest possible tempos of industrialization and collectivization!—this is the change that has taken place in the economic policy of national-socialism during the past two years. Crawling was substituted all along the line by adventurism. The theoretical base under both is the same: a national socialist conception.

The basic difficulties, as was shown above, result from the objective situation, first of all from the isolation of the Soviet Union. We shall not stop here to consider to what degree this objective situation is itself a result of the subjective mistakes of the leadership (the false policy in Germany in 1923, in Bulgaria and Esthonia—in 1924, in England and Poland—in 1926, in China—in 1925-27, the present false strategy of the "third period", etc., etc.). But the sharpest convulsions in the U. S. S. R. are created by the fact that the present leadership tries to turn necessity into good fortune, and, from the political isolation of the workers' state, produces a program of an economically isolated socialist society. From this has resulted the attempt of complete socialist collectivization of peasant holdings on the basis of the pre-capitalist inventory—a most dangerous adventure which threatens to undermine the very possibility of collaboration between the proletariat and the peasantry.

**The "Mad Gallop" and the Panicky Retreat**

And it is remarkable: just at the moment when this began to appear in all its sharpness, Bucharin, yesterday's theoretician of the "snail's pace" composed a pathetic hymn to the present "mad gallop" of industrialization and collectivization. It is to be feared that this hymn will soon be declared the greatest heresy. For there are already new melodies in the air. Under the influence of the economic material, Stalin has been compelled to beat a retreat. Now the danger is that the adventurous offensive dictated by panic of yesterday will turn into a panic-stricken retreat. This sort of alternating stages result inevitably from the nature of national socialism.

A realistic program of an isolated workers' state, cannot set itself the aim of accomplishing "independence" from world economy, or even more, to construct a national socialist society in the "shortest time." The task is not to accomplish the abstract-maximum, but the optimum tempos that is such that flow from the internal and world economic conditions, strengthen the positions of the proletariat, prepare the **national elements** of the future international socialist society and at the same time, and before all systematically improve the living level of the proletariat, strengthening its union with the non-exploiting masses of the village. This perspective remains in force for the whole preparatory period, that is until the victorious revolution in the advanced countries will bring the Soviet Union out of its present isolated position.

Some of the thoughts expressed here are developed with greater detail in other works of the author, particularly in the "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern"*. In the nearest future we hope to publish a pamphlet especially devoted to an evaluation of the present stage of economic development in the U. S. S. R. To these works we are obliged to direct the reader who seeks a closer acquaintance with the way in which the problems of the permanent revolution are posed today. But the considerations brought out above are sufficient, let us hope, to reveal the whole significance of the struggle of principles that was carried on in recent years, and is carried on now in the form of counterposing two theories: **socialism in one country and the permanent revolution.** Only this timely significance of the question justified the fact that we present here to foreign readers a book, which is largely devoted to a critical reestablishment of pre-revolutionary prognoses and theoretical disputes among the Russian Marxists. We could of course, have selected a different form of expounding the questions that in-

*This book is for sale by the The Militant at 35 cents a copy.

**In the Party**

# N. Y. District Plenum

If the Plenum of the C. E. C. demonstrated the utter bankruptcy of the present Party leadership and its line., the New York district Plenum can be said to have surpassed it in that respect . Needless to say, the session was held up for hours on Saturday (May 10) while the best thinkers in the Party were working out the most proper thesis. Then came the reports of Hathaway, for the Central Committee, and Benjamin for the district.

Hathaway's report gave neither analysis nor perspectives. "There is a disparity between the resolutions adopted and their execution by the Party members, as well as between these resolutions and our organizational strength. There must be a sharp turn (again!) in the Party orientation because so far all decisions are accepted in words but not in deeds (because the comrades have no real belief in your idiotic decisions!) Discipline is needed and there cannot be any neutrality on decisions, as for example in our Czecho-Slovakian organ which accepts all the criticisms made of it but refuses to publish critical articles." It never occured to him to explain that the "disparities" result from the fact that his decisions have little if any relation to the **realities** of the situation.

"Our Negro department is bankrupt," he reported. Then why does he print all the lies in the Daily Worker about the successes with Negro work, and then tell only the assembled bureaucrats the truth behind closed doors? "There are no new cadres or forces in the Party. The T.U. U. L. is really going through a crisis and there also there are no cadres for leadership." Why then do you expel and remove all the capable comrades, just because they fight your weekly zig-zags of policy? Why do you crush all our initiative in the Party ranks, killing every possibility for the development of members and poisoning them with your misconceived theories? Why don't you really carry out workers democracy in the Party instead of just writing junky resolutions about it? When you do that and change the present Party course, maybe you will not have to admit so shamefacedly to a Plenum that "in the membership drive we got 1,400 applications (in the press you exaggerated again!) and only half remained. We got these applicatiions at mass meetings and demonstrations but not from elements in the shops."

As for his analysis of the American situation, it was miserable. We sent him to school in Moscow to get a Marxist education and he came back to tell us that there is fascization of the state here because the government has become super-organized, because Hoover conferred with the business men, because financial capitalists are in the government, and power is being concentrated in the president and judiciary. Nor did we need his trip for him to report "the crisis in America is deepening" without adding a single word of explanation, elaboration ,proof or analysis to those six words.

If anything, Benjamin only painted the coal blacker. The district has failed here and there and everywhere. "We are still lagging behind the masses." In Patterson, a spontaneous strike, but the Party is nowhere to be seen. (What has happened to the general silk strike you were boasting about?) Our women's department has collapsed; the Negro department is completely bankrupt; the building trades fraction is impotent and unorganized; our demonstrations were not utilized at all; the same forces that are alway with us were there at the May Day conference, but no new ones (why didn't you adopt the Trotskyists' proposals for a broad united front?); the department work is uncoordinated; etc., etc., etc. The only "success" Benjamin mentioned was the "elimination of the language branches"; only he forgot to say that the members were eliminated too.

Comrades, let us demand a real discussion, not of trifles and not bureaucratically but on the basis of the vital questions of principle, of strategy and tactics that our expelled Trotskyist comrades have raised. And let's fight to reinstate them! —ROGER

## The Pittsburgh Expulsions

PITTSBURGH—

The latest news in the Communist Party is that John Kaspar has been expelled from the Party and M. Garfigel suspended for six months. Unit No. 2 protested in favor of Garifigel and Kaspar with the results that a squad of officials, headed by the acting district organizer, Salzman attended the meeting to pass the resolution against Kaspar. Salzman is the boy who walks around with a diploma from the International Stalin School and won his spurs as a leader by wrecking the Pittsburgh district of the I. L. D. The unit elected its own chairman but Dunne took the chair without asking the membership. The membership was terrorized so that they were even afraid to speak.

Salzman read my article from the last issue of the Militant to the membership in order to show that Kaspar is connected with the Opposition. After long speeches from Salzman, Dunne, Overgaard and the rest they approved the resolution by asking the members one by one to say Yes or No. Eight comrades didn't say either Yes or No and now they are also in danger of expulsion. These eight comrades are old members of the Party, real proletarians, very active in the Party's work, leaders of the unit and well acquainted with the bureaucrats of this district. All those that voted in favor of the resolutions spoke against it when the meeting was adjourned, which indicates how fearful they were to express their real opinions openly.

All honest comrades must see, and that soon, that such a leadership only wrecks the movement. It must be got rid of . The comrades know what a failure the May Day demonstration was, for which Salzman and the rest of his crew are to blame. At the park demonstration, there were about 400 people and only about 200 paraded in the street. At the evening mass meeting where there were only 50 or so Salzman spoke, and without blushing, told the workers who had participated in that day's demonstration that there had been 2,500 workers on the streets. When I heard that I said to myself that the Stalinist school in Moscow sure graduated a good diplomatic liar. —JAMES SIFAKIS

## May Day in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN—

Tens of thousands of workers and business men gathered in the streets of Youngstown to see our small parade to hear the speakers in the Public Square, but the slogan of a mass political strike failed entirely. Not only did the steel workers not respond at all but even the Party members largely failed to act. The official Party here failed to mobilize the members and sympathizers with their families in order for the parade to be more successful, and there were neither women nor children in it. (Which doesn't prevent the Daily Worker from publishing its customary monstrous exaggeration about the May Day demonstration in Youngstown. —Ed.) The way to make the workers understand our political slogans is to organize them on the basis of concrete issues in the class struggle, and through hard fighting against the capitalist class to develop a working class understanding and political maturity. The Party leaders don't seem to understand this at all.

—DENIS PLARINOS

**In Italy**

# Crisis in the Communist Party

MOSCOW—

It seemed that the Italian Communist Party was an exception in the Communist International by its escape from the crises which have up to now ravaged its sections. And this fact was very disquieting for the leaders of the C. I. How is it possible, they said, that in the Italian C. P. the phenomenon of opportunism can be limited simply to the case of Tasca?

Italy is the country of the most ferocious capitalist dictatorship; the country where our Party, by great and constant bloodshed has been terribly decapitated. All the old directing cadres and also all the intermediary cadres of our Italian Party and then the cadres successively formed after the exceptional laws, have been swept away, destroyed by the enemy.

### Opportunists, Real and Faked

Now however, the Heckerts, the Ferrats and their friends can be satisfied by the discovery that, within the Italian C.P. also a strong current of "Opportunism" has manifested itself, which has literally shattered in two the leading organs of this same Party. Every comrade, no matter how little initiated in the practises of the C. I.'s life in recent years, can guess immediately that you will not find among the opportunists the Ercolis and Garlandis who, in the same way that they spit on the "corpse" of Bucharin after having been its most fervent lackeys, have, **themselves,** hoisted the flag of the struggle against opportunism.

First of all, a preliminary remark: the fact that in this minority are the best elements who after the exceptional laws, all occupied the most perilous posts in the illegal work in Italy, as well as the proletarian elements of the former leadership elected by the last congress of the Party (Lyons, 1926); and the fact that on the other side there are all the petty bourgeois elements who made their revolutionary career in Party offices (these elements are under the direction and guidance of the attorney, Ercoli, precisely defined by comrade Trotsky, as 'the attorney for all causes")—these facts are therefore already filled with significance by themselves to prove to us where the home of opportunism really is in the Italian Party. The very serious discords that have cut in two the leadership of the Italian Party which had up to now retained its unity at all costs, relate at once to political and to organizational questions

The majority, headed by Ercoli—in an endeavor to have his past errors, his Bucharinist and Tascan loves forgotten—has repaired, as usually happens, to the most advanced position of the "Leftest" Leftism. In accordance with the decisions of the 10th Plenum on the famous "Third Period", Ercoli and Co. say they see "the coming to maturity in Italy of all the elements of an acute revolutionary situation". The formula is typically "opportunist" for it affirms: 1. **"seeing the coming";** 2. **"to maturity";** that is, a process is indicated which may last months or years. But it is for the coming months that Ercoli and Co. put on the order of the day the anti-fascist insurrection in Italy. "The catastrophe is imminent...The crisis sharpens every day...The masses are on the streets...We must accomplish a political and organizational turn...The organizational work, they say, must be adapted to the 'new situation 'and to the 'new tasks' posed by the situation that is being precipitated."

### The Minority Viewpoint

The minority objects, in the first place: Is it possible to accomplish a turn, no matter which, without taking the Party situation into account? A turn which takes no account of the Party situation instead of bridging the gap existing between the Party and the objective situation, can only make it deeper, extend it. This is the sad experience that the Italian Party itself has had in the years of absolute illegality following the exceptional laws.

In the second place: The signs of militancy of the working and peasant masses are multiplying, it is true, every day (Faenza, Sulmona, Avellina, unemployment demonstrations etc., are a proof that a change is begining to take place in the general state of mind of the working population). But what still characterizes the Italian situation is the very grave state of disorganization of the workers, their condition of passivity and terror. It suffices to consider the following fact: even though the wage of the Italian workers has been reduced to almost 40 percent only in these last years, the industrialists today can permit themselves a new reduction of 10% without meeting open resistance. (Unemployment has asumed such proportions that the workers accept these reductions out of fear of seeing jobless hired in their places). To adapt the tasks and the work of he Party to the situation means to understand in the first place, where the masses are, so as to have the possibility to moving the forward. But the tasks of the Party towards the masses are not independent of the internal condition of the Party, in the working class of its effective bonds with the masses.

If the Party is not connected with the factories, it can have nothing but phrases when it speaks of the political general strike and the insurrection. If the Party is not in a position to organize the workers in the struggle against the bosses for their defense of their wages, it can have nothing but phrases when it speaks of guiding the masses in the civil war, in the battles of the street ,etc.

Another discord involves the disposition of the forces of the revolutionary bloc. "In Italy today," declares the Ercoli majority, "**everybody** poses the dilemna: fascism or Communism?" **Everybody?** Yes, everybody: workers, peasants, city petty bourgeoisie. So there is nothing more for our Party to do for the conquest of the working class, its allies the peasant, to neutralize the middle sections,etc., since everybody in Italy poses the dilemna: "fascism or Communism". How could all this have happened when our Party, since the exceptional laws has been reduced to absolute illegality, has been chased from the factories by the harshest reaction, has lost its contacts wth the country, etc? It is a matter, as all can see, of the theory of the revolution that matures of itself, the theory of the spontaneous revolution, which is at the basis of the whole system of these "creators" of revolutions who think that it is enough to write in a paper—which reaches only a very limited number of workers—that the insurrection is maturing in order for us actually to face the insurrection.

### The Role of the Vanguard

Against the ridiculous infantilism of those who announce everything ripe, easy ready for success, the minority affirms the need of fighting bitterly against the social democracy because it is not true that the democratic illusions (which, as Lenin taught, find their most favorable ground in every reactonary situation) have disappeared in Italy because it is not true that the dilemna is today posed: "fascism or Communism"; but on the contrary, it is the role of the proletarian vanguard organized in the Communist Party to see to it that this dilemna: "fascist dictatorship or proletaran dictatorship" becomes the dilemna of the whole toiling population.

The minority characterizes the ultra-Left position of Ercoli and Co. as a position of real capitulation in the face of difficulties. To substitute the revolutonary phrase for the old opportunist positions held in the past by Ercoli and Co. does not mean to give the Party a more radical policy. Petty bourgeois opportunism can mask its wares by revolutionary phrases: if it is under the banner of the official leadership of the C. I. that the endeavor is made to introduce these wares into our Parties, then the fight against opportunism appears once more as the fight for a firm really Bolshevik leadership of the Communist International. —H. S.

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# The Socialist Party and the Prospects for Communism

By ARNE SWABECK

In various sections of the country the Socialist Party has during the last few months been unfolding a greater activity than hitherto. It is attempting, and with some success, to plant its roots in the present favorable soil of mass unemployment. In inverted form it becomes a testimonial to the fact that among the American workers there are now visible trends toward the shaping of a class movement.

The Socialist Party is very consciously "radicalizing" in phraseology its general slogans and platform demands, although the fact that all references to the class struggle have long since been obilerated from its program is momentarily glossed over. The object is clearly to head off the working class movement, to prevent its natural development towards a revolutionary position and to harness it within "safe" reformist channels, in order ultimately to strike the blows of defeat. The capitalist political strategists of the somewhat moderate type, will not be slow in taking advantage, for their own purposes, of this situation and help push the S. P. forward to extend its influence and thus enable it to fulfill that role. These are ominous signs for the future. But firstly, success for such designs have to count with the tempo of growing working class consciousness which may become so accelerated as to confine the reformist ideology to a rather brief period. Secondly, much depends upon the degree to which the Communist movement can establish its mass influence.

### The S. P. and the Middle Class

Whom does the Socialist Party represent and of whom are its ranks composed? In the United States it has by no means established the traditional influence upon working class ideology or the broad mass organization enjoyed by the social democracy is the foremost European cuntries. In fact it became almost obliterated by the 1919 split which resulted in the founding of the Communist movement. Ever since, its existence has been a rather obscure one, finding scant support largely from the lower middle class strata with a sprinkling of immigrant trade union officialdom. Today the hard pressed middle class, in its lower sections, the small business and professional man, becoming "radicalized" by bankruptcies, are undoubtedly the first to harken to the message of the S. P. But there are also evidences of its penetration into working class ranks through trade unions, through gaining labor votes at election imes and otherwise. It is quite understandable that among American workers, now developing radical thoughts nourished by the unemployment crisis and consequent disillusionment with Republicans and Democrats, there should be many whose first steps are directed towards support for the Socialist Party.

In the United States the Socialist Party has as yet no governmental responsibilities. It can therefore still afford to appear as an "opposition" party and keep a gentle rythm in accordance with the throbbing vibrations of the class struggle. With the cunning adroitness, which for a long time "distinguished" the more experienced European social democrats their American counterpart has, since the beginning of the present crisis given much more front page publicity to demands for social insurance in general and unemployment insurance in particular. It is now inaugarating a sort of a national campaign for the six hour day slogan. Naturally this is designed to catch the mass sentiment and gain influence among such workers just casting off from their old moorings of capitalist ideology. Having had little experience in a proletarian movement such workers do not immediately distinguish the objective role of the Socialist Party nor the fact that its leadership has not the slightest intention of ever fighting for these demands. They do not as yet notice that the methods of the S. P. are not at all those of class struggle but merely of giving lip service to social reforms in order to gain the mass influence necessary to play its ordained role.

Growth of the S. P. is noticeable today in three main directions: First in increased votes obtained at local elections last year as demonstrated particularly in the New York municipal elections. Undoubtedly a goodly section of the vote gain was furnished by the working class. Secondly, it is noticeable in extended influence and control in certain trade unions, mainly through the re-establishment of the Right wing leadership in the needle trades unions at the expense of the formerly powerful Left wing under Communist Party leadership. In these unions, where the workers are generally further politically advanced, the role of "socialist" union officials has also developed to a "higher" stage. Hence the more outspoken autocratic control; more outright, unconcealed co-operation with the bosses and their government in the anti-Communist offensive as well as in the severer suppression of the rank and file workers. More recently, through the C. P. L. A., the Socialist Party is making inroads into other union fields, for example, in the miners union of the Howat-Walker-Germer-Fishwick combination.

Seemingly there is a paradox in the fact that in such unions, when compared to the needle trades, the Socialist Party elements appear in a more "progressive" position. However, it is a very natural phenomenon completely in harmony with its flagrantly opportunist policy of winning mass influence and control and accordingly change its methods and phraseology whenever found advantageous. In these unions of more distinct A. F. of L. type a "progressive" front makes more rapid advance possible. Secondly the Socialist leaders do not as yet consider Communist sentiment there of sufficient strength to warrant a violent attack. Such, however, will be the course as soon as sufficient mass influence has been gained, or in the event of rapid growth of revolutionary sentiment among the workers. The whole record of the "socialist" needle trades union officialdom testifies to this.

The Socialist Party now claims a gain of 6,000 new members since September last, the founding of two new weekly papers on the Pacific Coast strengthening of its general press, greater leaflet distribution, revival of branch units in several sections of the country and more preparations made for publicity, for participation in the Fall congressional elections, etc. In the unemployment situation not only does it put forward "demands" for social insurance and the shorter workday but in New York and a couple of other points attempts have been made to create broad unemployment conferences. These conferences had, of course, no actual contact with the unemployed masses and were "safely" controlled for the S. P. bureaucrats, nevertheles they gathered quite a substantial representation from the trade unions and other working class organizations.

### Communists and Unemployment

Only the Communists have actually dramatized the unemployment issue and begun to set masses into motion through the March 6th demonstration and subsequently. That alone is a distinct service to the working class cause and has increased Communist influence. But there are now serious dangers that this motion, despite the intensity and pressure of the crisis, may be diverted into social reformist channels by the Socialist Party acquiring an ever more solid organizational basis—once more at the expense of the Communist movement. Particularly does that danger become apparent when the official Communist Party advances slogans, which at this time are entirely abstract and devoid of any revolutionary content, such as the slogan of the "political general strike". The same is true of its refusal to broaden the actual organization of the unemployment movement beyond what can be gathered in under the tutelage of the "revolutionary unions", the T. U. U. L. and the Party itself.

That the Socialist Party will not even seriously struggle for its own reform demands has been amply demonstrated by experience here and elsewhere. In the European countries as the Social Democracy grew in mass influence and bourgeois respectability and in several places became the government, its upper hierarchy became the tools of capitalism to curtail the social reform legislation already gained, to use the state machinery of suppression to carry it through and to crush its revolutionary opposition. The social democratic governments pursued exactly the same imperialist policies as their capitalist predecessors in office.

One notable case in point just now is the MacDonald government of Great Britain and its attitude to the rebellion is India. MacDonald has decided to carry on more openly the imperialist policies and crush the Indian rebellion. He does it conscious of the fact that it will seriosly stimulate the rebellion going on within the labor party against the reactionary leaders, a rebellion now already growing in momentum. This is inevitable. It is in the very nature of things flowing from and becoming the expression of further increased economic pressure upon the workers and growing inability of the social system of wage slavery to feed the masses of the workers.

Within the American Socialist Party can now be noticed some faint ripples, expressed in New York in proposals for a more "progressive" trade union policy and for opposition to the black reactionary policy of the Daily Forward. Even the S. P. is not immune from the economic pressure upon the workers. But the present stupid attitude of the Stalinized Communist Party blankly characterizing it "social fascism" strangles all possibilities of taking advantage of such developments and plays directly into the hands of the Right wing reformists. There could of course, be no reason whatever to place any reliance upon the leaders of the "oppositions" within Social Democracy, unless they were ready to break with that ideology and accept the revolutionary position. In England at this moment, for example, the "Left opposition" leaders take that position fearing that the rapid swing to the Right, to the full employment of the imperialist forces by the MacDonald government will too seriously compromise the cause of reformism. Hence they sound the alarm to save it.

In the United States, in a less developed stage, "Left opposition" leaders who appear within the S. P. fear that it is not basing itself sufficiently upon winning specific working class influence to strengthen the cause of reformism and thus more effectively preventing the masses from marching to a revolutionary position. It is evident that such elements are weather cocks of the pressure upon the workers but it is otherwise with the workers themselves who are subject to the pressure. Those workers who have taken the first step away from their capitalist ideology and are going toward the S. P., as well as those who are class conscious but temporarily disappointed by set backs experienced, are precisely the ones the Communist Party must win for the revolutionary struggle. Whenever "Left" oppositions" develop within the Social Democracy the ground becomes more favorable for that task.

But above all the Communists instead of lumping together all organizations and groups, based on social reformism, leaders and rank and file members, to be combatted as social fascists, must make clear the role of the Socialist Party. That is, to show that in a period of beginning radicalization of the workers, the S. P. or sections of it will take on a more radical appearance and make a pretense of fighting for the needs of the workers illustrated now by its "demands" for the six hour day and for social (unemployment )insurance. When the radical wave rises to higher stages and the workers move forward, actually pressing for their needs, the S. P. will become even more of an open brake upon the movement. When the workers go over to revolutionary action for their needs the S.P. will finally reveal itself in the open as a most ardent defender of capitalism, using all the means of force of the capitalist state to suppress the workers' action. This is the history of Social Democracy and there can be no other role for a Party not based upon the proletarian revolution.

### For Correct Policy Towards Socialists

The ebb and flow of the movement are part of the natural laws of motion which Marxists will not fail to understand. However, to continue shutting their eyes to this and the failure to apply correct policies in this respect by the Stalinized Communist Party, can in a large measure be responsible for any additional lease of life given to social reformism and for the strengthening of the role of the S.P. as an instrument to attempt to suppress the proletarian revolution.

It becomes quite evident that precisely today, in the unemployment crisis in the United States, the most effective method of concretely and practically demonstrating to the working masses exactly what the position of the S. P. is, would be for the Communist Party to make all efforts to win socialist workers for a united front on unemployment demands. Moreover, a broad united front with all workers, including those of the socialist ideology is an imperative necessity.

The S.P. leaderhip would not accept this, which would only aid in clarifying reformist workers. With the struggle going forward, their exposeure could be facilitated and the influence of social reformism limited accordingly. However, it is hardly reasonable to expect that the present Communist Party leadership would be able to pursue such a policy, which would have real revolutionary content. At least not until the "third period" gymnastics have been eliminated.

It is perhaps well once more to emphasize what comrade Trotsky has already pointed out: that conditions of development in the U. S. are now such that the class struggle may become sharply intensified to a quick tempo, with turbulent upheavals What will it bring to the workers? Victory, in the sense of marking a step forward to a stronger position from which more effectively to continue the struggle, or defeat, in the sense of giving the movement an actual setback? This in a large measure depends upon the ability of the Communist Party to prevent the extension of the influence of social reformism upon the workers and to assemble them, instead under the Communist banner.

# A National Tour for the Communist League

The end of this month will see the first meeting in the national tour now being organized by the Communist League branches throughout the country to hear report by Max Shachtman on the Communist movement in Europe, the International Conference of the Left Opposition that was held in Paris a month ago, and his visit to Leon Trotsky in Turkey. Comrade Shachtman has just come back from an extended stay in Erope and the comrades from all parts of the country have already written in asking for dates on which mass meetings can be arranged in their localities. This is the first national tour organized by the Communist League, and it offers a good opportunity for the strengthening of the Opposition

**New Haven, Fri. May 30. Philadelphia, Saturday, May 31. Boton, Sun.-Mon. June 1-2. Montreal, Tues. June 3, Toronto,Wed-Thurs. June 4-5. Hamilton, Fri. June 6. Detroit, Sat.-Sun. June 7-8. Chicago, Mon.-Tues.-Wed,-Thurs. June 9, 10, 11, 12. Minneapolis- St. Paul-Superior, Fri.-Sat. Sun. Mon.-Tues. June 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Kansas City, Thurs.-Fri.-Sat. June 19, 20, 21 St. Louis, Sun.-Mon. June 22-23. Springfield, Tues. June 24. Cleveland, Wed.-Thurs. June 25-26. Pittsburgh, Fri. -Sat June 27-28**

For further information on the tour write to 25 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

## A. C. W. Convention

# Hillman's Record for Toronto

It is now over five years since the Right wing has been in complete control in the Amalgamated. Have conditions of the workers been improved? No! Conditions in New York are worse today than ever. The clothing workers work under the most inhuman conditions. Hillman went a step further than "standards of production", and reductions in wages. With the aid of local politicians he forced piece work on the New York tailors, although the workers rejected it at meetings. The liberal and socialist press hailed this move as a victory for the workers.

The Times not long ago carried an article by Louis Stark: "Amalgamated union and employers celebrate this week the success of the 'Impartial machinery' which has improved industrial relations and settled disputes.

### Hillman's Kind of Labor Unity

"Next Wedneday evening the New York Clothing Manufacturer's Exchange will be host at a dinner to about 1,000 engaged in the manufacturing of men's clothing, leading officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and a group of distinguished guests interested in human relations in industry.

"The dinner will celebrate the fifth anniversary of the founding of the impartial machinery of the men's clothing industry in New York under the chairmanship of Jacob Billikoff, economist, social worker and pioneer in industrial relations.

"Without strikes or lockouts the impartial machinery, sometimes called 'a laboratory of human understanding', has functioned smoothly and efficiently because the union has embraced the labor view of constructive rights and responsibilities to industry and because the employers have welcomed such a constructive cooperation.

"The discussion on the question of piece work continued for three years during the course of which the inadequacies of the system of production standards became apparent to both sides. A year and a half ago the union consented to the revolutionary step of going on a piece work basis." (See the New York Times, Special Features, December 1, 1929).

This article by Louis Stark shows that the Amalgamated officers together with the employers celebrated the victory they had achieved at the expense of the workers. Yes, the Amalgamated doesn't believe in strikes any more. The impartial machinery works smoothly and efficiently. This is true. For whom? For the bosses! Yes, the employers have welcomed Hillman's constructive cooperation. It pays the employers. I agree with Louis Stark when he said Hillman's union "consented to the revolutionary step of going on a piece work basis." Have the workers given their consent? No! What the employers could not get when they fought the Amalgamated for 26 weeks in 1921, they got through Hillman's good will and constructive leadership. It is no wonder that Hillman gets medals from capitalist institutions while the workers get matzohs for Passover.

Not long ago I saw a circular sent out to the clothing workers by the three largest local unions, 5, 3 and 2, signed by the secretaries and local officers. In the circular they stated, "Brothers, arise! do not stand aside. A movement to lift the tailor from his deplorable conditions began through the united three Jewish Executive Boards. The time is not far distant when our trade will be lifted up again to the extent that we could with pride recall the name 'Amalgamated' in the city of New York. We need your help and cooperation."

These local unions have been controlled by the Right wing for the last few years since Hillman began his expulsion policies. These local officers helped Hillman to force on the workers the piece work system. These charlatans who are responsible for the present conditions because they helped Hillman to bring about these miserable conditions, ask the tailors for help and cooperation.

Moreover, letters can be seen daily in the Right wing press, the Forward and the Day, about the intolerable conditions piece work brought to the workers. I will quote one half of a letter. "I was a long time a member of the Amalgamated. A lot of workers know me well. I was one of the best workers and earned a good living. But when the union began her business ventures, and neglected the union, I could no longer make a living, and had to leave New York.

"Now I am in a small town of 1,500 inhabitants, only Gentiles. I am the only Jew. If I were in New York today, with the Amalgamated, I would surely be in the same position and would need relief for Passover. I am very sorry that they made a beggar out of the tailor." (The Day, March 26, 1930). These facts prove what Hillman and his henchmen made out of the Amalgamated under their regime. Hillman not only destroyed the best of the workers in the Amalgamated, he destroyed its very soul.

The only ones who are making a living in the Amalgamated today are the staff, the editors and the boosters (I mean the pen slaves).

The outside world and the intellectuals still consider the Amalgamated a radical and progressive organization. Where do they get their information ? They go to lunches, and dinners given by the employers in conjunction with the union officials. They interview Hillman, Billikoff, the president of the Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, etc. This is how they get their information. Then they edit journals and claim they give their readers facts, that they are the authorities on labor problems. also on research work. How can these people give facts when they were never in a shop, and never investigated conditions? These professors or economists merely repeat what one person, Hillman told them when they dined together. At least they should go into a few shops and interview employers and workers alike. If not they ought to go into different union offices where workers assemble, talk to them, hear their grievances and sentiments. This I would call facts and research. Otherwise they deceive their readers when they say they give them facts. This stuff they give their readers is fake, not facts.

Did Hillman ever tell his publicity agents about corruption and graft that is going on in his organization? A few months ago Hillman removed Harry Cohen with his gang for taking graft. Hillman just discovered that Harry Cohen is a crook. I mentioned with quotations (see last Militnat) from the Advance that Cohen was tried and condemned by a committee for taking checks. Who took H. Cohen back into the Amalgamated to sell out the worker? Hillman took him back. H. Cohen sold cotton and unionism to the clothing manufacturers. Nevertheless, without returning to the trade, Cohen was installed once more on the union payroll within a short period after the Chicago Convention. During the Cohen affair in 1921 Hillman at a meeting in Manhattan Lyceum said, "H. Cohen can never come back into the organization without stepping over my dead body." Schlossberg said he would resign before he would sign pay checks for H. Cohen. You can see how they kept their promise. Are they doing it for principle?

After seven years of taking graft and helping to destroy the New York organization, Harry Cohen was again removed with his staff for taking graft. H. Cohen ignored the summons and did not appear before the committee. The question is, why did not Hillman try these grafters? The answer must be that Hillman did not want the outside world and those intellectuals to know how much dirt there is in the Amalgamated. H. Cohen left enough grafters in the union to go on with their work without fear. J. B. Hardman, the pen slave, writes about cleanliness in the Amalgamated. Can you beat it? Do the liberal and intellectual boosters know anything about it?

The ninth biennial convention will be held in May, in Toronto, Canada. What are the achievements the Amalgamated can show for the last few years? The publicity agents, the pen slaves, will do their best for their masters. They will show the wonders the Amalgamated has done in the Philadelphia campaign and the unemployment insurance which Hillman's union brought the workers for the last few years. Let us examine the Philadelphia situation first.

What have the workers gained since the Amalgamated came into Philadelphia? The Amalgamated press and the boosters could not show what the workers gained. When I was in Philadelphia I met a former manager of the Amalgamated in a restaurant, for the last few years a manager for the clothing manufacturers. He took an active part in the Amalgamated campaign in Philadelphia and made a dollar or two. I asked him how it was possible to organize the Philadelphia market. He answered , "The Amalgamated spent over a million dollars and we made the workers join the union." I asked him what have the workers gained by it? He answered again, "Fool, don't you know the Amalgamated must convince the employers it will pay them to deal with the union?" I asked him, How will the Amalgamated get back the money they spent? "Through dues and taxes," he answered. Now I understand what the workers in Philadelphia gained: the check-off system, speed up and efficiency which will throw a few hundred workers out of the shops.

What about unemployment insurance? Well, unemployment insurance is a good thing but the way it is conducted in the Amalgamated it is only of use to the crooks, not the majority of the workers. I will cite a fact and let the pen prostitutes of the Amalgamated deny it. In New York, each local received a sum of money to pay out to the workers in unemployment insurance. So Harry Cohen's gang received $8,000. They paid out $5,000 to all the workers and took $3,000 for themselves, Do you see how smoothly things work in the Amalgamated? These are the achievements with which the union comes to the Toronto convention.

Hillman comes to the Toronto convention when thousanls of workers are suffering from unemployment. The best workers have been expelled or squeezed out through Hillman's "efficiency". There will be no opposition at this convention because all opposition was crushed by Hillman and because the Left wing had either a bad policy or none at all.

No opposition, except the rivalry between Beckerman and the Forward gang on the one hand and the Hillman machine on the other. The serious business of the convention is to be a "new balance of power" between these rivals.

What can the workers expect from this convention? Nothing! The boys and their guests will have a good time at the expense of the tailors, playing whoopee, banqueting and boozing. It is the after-convention period that is important for that is when the Left wing will again be confronted with the need of organizing for the fight. Let the lessons of the past be our guide to the future. —A. SCHNEIDER


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Do you want to get a copy, free of charge, of "My Life" by Leon Trotsky? Do you want to get the book which is arousing such enormous interest in the revolutionary movement in Europe and America? Many workers anxious to have it are unemployed. They can get it in spite of that. The Militant is offering a copy free to any worker who turns into its office TEN yearly subscriptions or TWENTY six-month subscriptions to the paper. Approach your friends and fellow workers. The sub for a year is $2.00; for six months it is $1.00. Collect the subs and the money, forward them to the office and get your copy of the Autobiography, which has been called Trotsky's greatest work, absolutely free of charge. This $5.00 book is yours for the little effort required to get the subs—or renewals.

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## THE WEEK

(Continued from page 1)

Hughes, a Negro, in the local court house vault. Like the National Guard and State Militiamen in other states, the Texas Ranger are always available at a moment's notice, with pistols, machine guns and tear bombs, to charge into the ranks of workers striking or fighting for a minimum living standard. That is what they exist for: the defense of bosses "law" and the "order" of capitalism. But when bloodthirty monsters are on a lynching bee, the law-abiding Rangers—if they are on hand at all—excercize their book-sworn duty by seeing that the savage mob conducts the lynching in as quiet and undisturbed a manne as possible. Needless to add that nobody will pay the penalty for the barbarous murder. Lynching is not only the approved "extra-legal method of the Bourbon South, but also of democratic Massachusets and pioneer Washington. George, Hughes, Wesley Everest, Sacco and Vanzetti are all victims of an identcal capitalist justice. The greater brutality of the South is provoked by the anxiety of the Southern bourgeoisie to keep the Negroes terrorized in order to prevent them from coordinating their enormous potential strength for the overthrow of wage slavery. Better than the white worker, the white masters know the Negro can be our strongest ally in struggle. A common, bitter struggle of white and Negro labor against the horror of lynching and Jim Crowism therefore, is imperatively necessary.

# BOOKS - FOR - WORKERS

## Biography and Revolutionary Struggle

The struggle of the factions in the Comintern is in the last analysis a struggle of the classes. Once more the revolutionary Marxists are a persecuted and calumniated minority in the International they founded and Bolshevism an upstream current in the revolution it created. This turn of events can only deter those who fail to understand the dialectic process. History obstinately refuses to flow in the smooth and unruffled channels marked out for it by Fabian doctrinaires of "gradualism". Only in the brain of a Bucharin is it possible to "abstract" the Soviet Union from the development of world economy and the correlation of class forces.

### Two Phases of the October Revolution

The October Revolution falls into two phases separated by the death of Lenin. The first was the stage of the conquest of political power and the military and economic consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship through the instrumentality of the conscious Communist vanguard. The second phase is marked by the growth of the elements of dual power, the economic advances of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie the subjection of the Party to the bureaucracy, the replacement of the line of Communism by Centrism.

To screen their back-sliding the Party bureaucrats had resort to the invention and campaign against "Trotskyism". Lenin who was safely embalmed in a mausoleum could be disregarded by the bureaucrats but Trotsky remained as the living symbol of the heroic phase of October. To destroy his immense revolutionary authority therefore became the bureaucrats' prime concern. To this end history and biography were monstrously perverted. An English critic's definition of history as a "Missisippi of falsehoods" was never more fully merited than by the conscienceless fabrications of the school of Stalin.

The powerful sweep of L. D. Trotsky's Autobiography leaves the whole tissue of fraud and misrepresentations woven by the official theoreticians in shreds and tatters. In the light of this memorable work how pitiful even to his own faction must appear the scurrilities with which a Yaroslavsky like the Fat Boy in Dickens, seeks to make our flesh creep. The motley careers of those who sat in judgement on the Opposition, wearing the saintly aureole of the "Old Guard" are here passed in merciless review. Concurrently the organizer of the Red Army sets out the course of the development which led to his complete fusion of goal and method with Lenin in the supreme crisis of October. The biographical test, Trotsky once declared to an Opposition-baiting plenum is not decisive. Bernstein who was the literary executor of Engels wound up as a rabid revisionist. Franz Mehring who approached Marx in a critical spirit ended in the camp of Spartacus. But if biography is indeed to be treated as the criterion, then let us have exact biography not of Trotsky alone but of all concerned.

The owl of Minerva, that bird of wisdom, takes flight when the dusk gathers, runs a familiar saying of Hegel. The temporary cloud on the October Revolution is the last thing any of us desired but the facs being what they are, the theoretical and political contributions of Trotsky since his struggle with the epigones began, are of inestimable service in the education of a whole generation of younger Marxists. Historical Materialism is no philosophy of blind impersonal forces. In reply to the criticism of the Gotha program, the older Liebknecht declared that Marx stood high in his esteem but "the party stands higher". This is the veriest fetishism, creating an entirely false antithesis between party and principle, beween organization and leadership. The choice of leaders is as inescapable today as when it had to be made between Marx and Bakunin, between Lenin and Plechanov, between Rosa Luxemburg and Kautsky. The Autobiography before us perfectly fulfills the requirements of Lassalle's dictum that the beginning and end of all great political action lies in the statement of that which is. Trotsky is the heir to the revolutionary legacy of Marx and Lenin.

Bolshevism did not spring fully grown and accoutred like Pallas Athene from the head of Jove in the Greek fable. "Russia," wrote Lenin, "has attained Marxism...by dint of fifty years travail and sacrifice... Thanks to the emigration forced by the Czar, revolutionary Russia in the second half of the 19th century came into possession of rich international connections, of the grasp of superlative forms and theories of the revolutionary movements abroad as no other country had... "The road of Bolshevism runs through the struggle with the populist Narodniki, syndicalist "economism", ultra-Left "otsovism", and Menshevik and 'conciliatory' opportunism". But not the least of the obstacles it had to clear cut of its path was the conservatism of the "old Bolsheviks" who more than once, declared Lenin, have played a melancholy role in the history of our Party by repeating senseless and obsolete formulae.

These preliminary struggles of Bolshevism have significance only as they serve to prepare the Party for the conquest of political power. Not one of the epigones who called themselves the "Old Guard" measured up to the demands of the great October ordeal. Not one had advanced beyond the position of a Left democrat prior to the arrival of Lenin and his April Theses. The slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry as Lenin conceived it bore two aspects, one that looked to the past and the other to the future. The epigones only saw the past of this slogan. They were prepared for no more than bourgeois revolution, that is Russia a free market, no repudiation of foreign debts, no assistance to the international proletarian revolution, no nationalization of the means of production.

If according to Lenin the role of Zinoviev and Kamenev was no accident, neither could it be an accident that from the distance of New York, Trotsky reached the same conclusions regarding the revolutionary motive forces as Lenin in Switzerland. On March 19, 1917 Trotsky wrote from America: "In this struggle the proletariat ought to unite about itself the rising masses of the people with one aim in view—to seize governmental power." And three days later: "If the first Russian Revolution in 1905 brought about the revolutions in Asia, in Persia, Turkey, China, the second Russian revolution will be the beginning of powerful revolutionary struggle in Europe..." Trotsky found himself in absolute accord with the April theses. He had remained outside the Bolshevik faction because he feared a tendency would develop within it to limit the revolution to democratic objectives. Fortunately the line of Lenin and the elan of the masses proved stronger than the democratic Right wing which did indeed crystallize. History fused the theory which is anathema to all bureaucrats—the permanent revolution—with the fundamental strategy of Leninism.

### The Usurpation by the Bureaucrat

The crisis in the International begins with the usurpation of power by the bureaucrats. The struggle to put an end to the alternative zig-zags of opportunism and adventurism is inextricably linked up with the struggle for a correct Party regime. The base of the leadership in the Soviet Union has become more dangerously narrowed. When Marx characterized Bakunin he anticipated Lenin's characterization of Stalin. Marx wrote: "Theoretically he is a cipher but as a schemer he is in his element." To leave a disloyal figure like Stalin at the helm is, as experiences amply demonstrate, to court disaster for the revolution. The Party regimes in the various sections of the Comintern have been made over in his image—a bureaucracy tempered only by fear of the Opposition.

If the policy of the Comintern officialdom in the period of the British General Strike and the Chinese Revolution was a tragedy, that of the so-called "Third Period" has the elements of a tragic farce. What must be done? We recall that there was another "third period" away back in 1902, when Lenin was fighting one who is a present theoretician of Stalinism, namely Martinov. To the question, what must we do, Lenin wrote: "We must give the brief reply: "LIQUIDATE THE THIRD PERIOD" (N. Lenin, 1902.—"Que Faire"—Paris 1925). And we must add, liquidate the ascendancy of the epigones, purge the program of the Comintern of national Socialism, and restore the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition to its rightful position in the Party.

—MAURICE SPECTOR

## T. U. U. L.

# «Mass Work» in Philly

The present state of the newly created North Philadelphia branch of the T.U.U.L., the membership of which has fallen away to ten within a few weeks, is another small but instructive instance of the havoc being wrough in all Party organizations through stupid bureaucratic control.

This branch takes in the proletarian Kensington area and was started on the initiative of a few enthusiastic workers, of whom only one was a Party member. By dint of hard campaigning, and without the least help from the crackpot T. U. U. L. "organizer", Murdock, or the other Stalinist job-holders, they built up a membership of thirty native-born workers and were in a fair way to make things hum around here when the bureaucrats stepped in.

### The Party Strait-Jacket

They laced the branch in a strait-jacket: programs and policies worked out behind closed doors at the Party headquarters were literally jammed down its throat; anything not contained in them was taboo. Democratic election of functionaries and committee, free discussion from the floor, suggestions for real organizational work, objections to the brazen company union procedure were squelched at once. Seeing that in the eyes of the bureaucrats they were not self-reliant workers but suckling babes, the disgusted members began dropping out by squads.

As was pointed out recently in the Militant, the Kensington area is panting for organization. The workers there are savagely exploited textile slaves of Irish-American and German-American stock with a proud and militant history. But neither during the reign of the Trotsky-phobiac Benjamin, nor since, with the Trimmer Gardos on the throne, have the Party officials raised an eyebrow in its direction. The only part played by them in the heroic Aberle mill strike was that of war correspondents behind the firing line, sending preposterous bulletins to the Daily Worker about their wholly fictitious "leadership" of the strikers. And when through the efforts of rank and filers who toook the "recruitment campaign" of the T. U. U. L. seriously organization in Kensington was actually begun, they promptly crushed it to death.

—J. ARCHIPENKO

# Proposes Fight for Jobless in Chicago Labor Body

CHICAGO—

The Chicago Federation of Labor now typical of central bodies of the A. F. of L. and quite oblivious of its past militant tradition, has shown a decided fear of venturing into as much as a discussion of the present unemployment crisis. Nevertheless at its meeting, held May 4, a discussion did take place, initiated by comrade Arne Swabeck, who has been a delegate from the painters' union for a number of years.

At the early part of this meeting a committee previously appointed made a report on prospects for the establishment of a daily labor paper, to be published by the federation, recommending that as a necessary condition for a daily the present weekly publication be first extended in circulation. In the discussion ensuing several of the delegates who spoke emphasized the need of reviving the militant spirit of the past and voiced some criticism of the present trade union officialdom in general.

It was upon the conclusion of this debate that a letter was read proposing that the Chicago Federation of Labor join in the efforts now being made unitedly by the social charities, the Illinois State Federation of Labor and various civic bodies, including the Chamber of Commerce, to conduct an investigation of the free employment agencies. Upon a question being asked the president, Fitzpatrick, explained that what we are after is not so much to investigate the free employment agencies but rather the "fee" empolyment agencies which are completely interlocked with the superintendents and managers of the big corporations in getting a rakeoff from the workers when placing anybody in employment.

At this point comrade Swabeck secured the floor and turned the attention towards the real problem—the unemployment crisis. He said: "If the connections of the 'fee' employment agencies are as stated by president Fitzpatrick, which I believe to be a correct statement, I cannot see what the Chicago Federation of Labor can expect to accomplish in an investigation to be conducted jointly with the Chamber of Commerce, as the main object of this body will naturally be to protect such institutions and to clamp the lid down on any exposure of this form of racketeering. It would be much more appropriate for the federation to conduct an investigation of its own. Not only that but to look up the unemployment situation in general.

"It is about time for the Chicago Federation of Labor and for the trade union movement as a whole to concern itself with this question. It has done nothing so far to endeavor to protect the workers' interests in this situation or even to begin to fight for the measures which could to an extent become alleviating and which have become a pressing need. The American Federation of Labor leadership has done absolutely nothing in a concrete way. It has even proceeded, true to its reactionary position, to oppose any form of direct unemployment insurance.

"I can think of three important measures which the Chicago Federation of Labor can take up a fight for in order to bring some relief to the unemployment situation. First, to take up the fight for unemployment insurance. Those who have done the productive work but cannot now find jobs are entitled to it . Secondly, to take up the demand everywhere for the shorter workday. I do not mean merely the five day week, but the seven hour day, or the six hour day, whatever is necessary to bring the relief needed. Thirdly, the Soviet Union, which is now engaged in building up industry for its workers is in need of large scale credit to enable it to buy machinery and material and you know the Soviet Union is the only country which has insisted upon union made products. This country has enormous funds available in the control of Wall Street which could be used for such a purpose. It would be a worthy cause for American labor to take up this demand and bring its mass pressure to bear upon Wall Street to grant such credits with which machinery and material can be bought in America produced by the American workers and thus not only strengthen the bonds between the workers of these two countries but also be a great factor in helping to relieve unemployment here."

The motion was put, and carried. The debate was closed when president Fitzpatrick, using the "privilege" of making a statement from the chair, got up and administered one of his notorious backhanded slaps. He tried to accuse comrade Swabeck of not being sincere, of being an obstructionist and a destructionist who had done everything in his power to destroy the American Federation of Labor. Some ardent claquers immediately began pounding the palms of their hands, but when the general audience failed to follow it died quickly as a fizzle.

When comrade Swabeck left the hall several rank and file delegates came to him to shake hands as a token of their agreement. One remarked: "A dirty slam is no answer and the correctness of your arguments could not be contradicted."

—B